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MISCELLANEA LITURGICA.

I. The עץ חיים.

WHILST the various branches of Rabbinical literature are pushed on with ardour, the liturgical remains stationary at the point where Zunz left it in his memorable *Literaturgeschichte der Synagogalen Poesie*, 1865, and the Supplement in 1867. A few additions, however, were made to this branch of literature by the late Senior Sachs for Gabirol, and by the late Dr. P. F. Frankel for Qalir (*Jubelschrift zum Neunzigsten Geburtstag des Dr. L. Zunz*, 1884). There remains, however, still much to glean from MSS. in various libraries, which Zunz had not investigated, and from others which he examined rather hastily. The Imperial Library of St. Petersburg possesses two collections of Hebrew MSS., bought from the Karaite Chief, Firkowitz, but of which little is known as concerns liturgy. On the other hand, the Bodleian Library has lately acquired a considerable number of fragments of Hebrew MSS., found in a *Genizah* at Cairo, which contain a great deal of unknown matter in the branch of post-biblical literature. From the latter I intend to give, from time to time, extracts in this QUARTERLY. It will be seen from them that Professor D. Kaufmann's doubtful hope is now realised, for he says, concerning the three poems found in the theological work of Jacob son of Judah of London (JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, IV., p. 32), "Anglo-Jewish liturgical poetry, hitherto represented through pieces by Meir b. Elias of Norwich, receives an important addition, which affords another proof that the Hebrew muse was once successfully cultivated on English soil; so much the more valuable because there has hitherto been so little room for hope that our knowledge of this branch of Jewish literature would be enriched." Rabbi Jacob's poems, however, do not deserve to be classified under the name of the Hebrew muse, and two liturgists or poets in the course of two centuries cannot be characterised with the words,

"that they had successfully cultivated the Hebrew muse." But Prof. Kaufmann is an enthusiast for everything touching Hebrew literature. I am a little cooler in this respect, although not a pessimist, as Dr. M. Gaster, who says above that Jacob b. Judah's (of London) *Ets Hayyim*¹ is almost *nil* in intrinsic value. Of that, however, I have said a word on another page (see p. 163).

I suppose that Prof. Kaufmann has now finished his valuable description of the Leipzig MS., and I may be allowed to offer my observations concerning it, inasmuch as I have already drawn attention to it (JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, IV., p. 26). It was indeed an act of indulgence on the part of Prof. Kaufmann in not mentioning that I have not recognised the importance of the *Ets Hayyim* as concerns the English ritual, as he says of Zunz. However, tacitly a blame falls upon me, and I have to justify the great omission on my part. That I had glanced through the Leipzig MS. may be concluded from the items which I had put at the disposal of the Chief Rabbi, Dr. H. Adler, for his lecture at the Anglo-Jewish Exhibition in 1887. Naturally the differences in Jacob's text of the Prayer-book, and more especially the *Viduy*, could not have escaped me. The reason that I remained silent as concerns this part in the *Ets Hayyim* is twofold:

1. Because I knew that the Chief Rabbi intended to edit the work in its entirety—an intention which, indeed, was mentioned by the Editors of the QUARTERLY REVIEW (1892, p. 63), at the end of Prof. Kaufmann's first article, with the following words: "The Rev. Dr. H. Adler, Chief Rabbi, informs us that he intends to edit the whole of the MS. of the work עץ חיים, which the preceding article introduces to our readers."

2. Because the importance of the great discovery of the English Ritual shrinks a good deal by the following statements. The crowning point of this discovery is, according to Prof. Kaufmann, the special וי in the morning prayer. I shall quote the Professor's own words (JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, 1892, p. 26): "As an instance of the valuable historical and critical results obtained by the examination of this MS., I may mention the solution it offers of a difficulty at the beginning of the morning prayers, which has hitherto puzzled commentators and translators, viz.,

¹ "Judith Montefiore" College Report, 1893, p. 25.

the determination of the exact meaning of the words מורה אני לפניך, in אלהי נשמה, which seem to have no obvious relation to their context. The grammar forbids the phrase being rendered as an expression of gratitude, nor does it apparently refer to confession, for no confession follows. The difficulty, however, merely indicates the hiatus of the passage, which is supplied by the English reading. Nothing less than a complete confession of sins was once daily recited at this stage of the morning devotions. The phrase מורה אני לפניך is the sole fragmentary relic we have left of it. But the old English Ritual has preserved the original for us in its integrity." Before discussing Prof. Kaufmann's explanation of מורה, I shall mention at once that this וירי, found in the עין חיים, existed also in a more accurate form, as far as it is reproduced by Dukes,¹ in a Mahazor MS., written 1302, and formerly in the possession of R. Jacob Weil at Carlsruhe, but at present lost, as I am informed. The וירי is attributed in this MS. to R. Saadiah. Dr. Friedlander is right in saying (JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, V., p. 186): "If the *Viduy* was written by a Saadiah, it is most probably not Saadiah Gaon." Possibly it is the Saadiah to whom the commentaries of Daniel (in the מקראות גדולות) and Ezra and Nehemiah (edited by Mr. H. J. Matthews, *Anecdota*, Ox., Sem. Series I.) belong; or Saadia ben Joseph Bekhor Shor, who seems to have lived in the twelfth century in France. Did this Ritual, written sixteen years after the expulsion of the Jews from England, contain the English rite? Scarcely.

There is another MS., which has not only the וירי, as in the Carlsruhe MS., as well as the עלינו, as in the עין חיים, yet it does not contain the English Ritual. It is this MS., 633 of the Paris Library, marked "*Provenant des Archives Nationales*," which means, confiscated by the Government of Philip le Bel, before the exile from France. The same is the case with the MSS. 634 to 639 of the same library. No. 633 contains another rite than the other following MSS. The catalogue describes them all as the ordinary prayers of the rite of the Jews in France. The rites of France, properly so called (including Paris), Champagne, Lorrain, and Burgundy, are recognisable; but 633

¹ *Zur Kenntniss der Neuhebräischen Religiösen Poesie.* Frankfurt a/M., 1842, p. 152.

belongs to none of these rites. Having been confiscated by the government of Philip le Bel, it cannot contain anything else than the rite of Normandy, which is similar to that in the עץ חיים. Consequently the English Ritual is, in fact, that of Normandy, introduced into England. It is only natural that Jews who immigrated from Normandy into England should bring with them the Ritual of the land from which they came.

I come now to the words מודה אני לפניך, of which Prof. Kaufmann says that it is a fragmentary relic, preserved in its integrity in the English (Norman) Ritual. It is true that the word לפניך, after מודה, in the sense of thanksgiving, is irregular; but so is the word מודה irregular for מתודה in the post-biblical dialect; and what sense is there in saying, "I confess that I am not strong-faced and stiff-necked to say before thee"? After confessing sin in general, the sin or sins ought to follow. Does Prof. Kaufmann mean to say that the prayer beginning אלהי נשמה was already corrupt in the Babylonian Talmud, *Berakhot*, fol. 60 *b*, where it runs as we have it now in our prayer-books? And if so, how is it that there is no discussion about it either in the Gemara, or in the writings of the Gaonim, or in the commentators, ancient and modern, or in Maimonides' *Mishneh Thorah*, or in the *Tur* and *Schulhan Arukh*? Is it possible that the prayer-books of all rites I could ascertain, viz., in the *Siddurs* of R. Amram, of Saadiah Gaon and of Salomon ben Nathan, of the rites of Germany and Poland, of the Eastern and Greek rite, of the Spanish and Provence, of the French in all its branches (Troyes, Burgundy and Paris, and the Provence), and of the Yemen rite, should have אלהי נשמה, with slight variations, as it is with us, corrupt and incomplete, whilst the minority in Normandy and England should have preserved the true and complete composition of it? All commentators I know of explain the word מודה as thanksgiving. I shall only quote the Yemen *Siddur*, in which an old tradition is well preserved. The commentator there says as follows (MS. Hebrew e. 11, in the Bodleian Library, fol. 4*b*):—ואמר ר' מאיר: מאה ברכות חייב אדם לברך בכל יום שני ועתה ישראל מה אל תקרי מה אלא מאה והראשונה היא שבח והודאה למקום בה שמחזיר לו נשמתו כי בלילה הנשמה עולה ליתן דיין וחשבון מכל מה שעושה ביום: See also

S. Baer, *סדר עבודת ישראל*, 1868, p. 40. It is therefore probable that the *וירדי*, as found in the Norman rite, is a late production (of the twelfth century); therefore the Massorites of the prayers do not mention it with the other objectionable passages given by Prof. Kaufmann (*JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW*, V., p. 23), to which I may add the following from the MS. No. 646, in Paris, and Oxford, No. 1102:—כנגד זו בברכה זו כנגד—
 י"ד בניסן שנגאלו ישראל ממצרים • גם בזה שגו הצרפתים שמוסיפים בצור ישראל ואמרו גואלינו ה' צבאות שמו קדוש ישראל • וסמך שלהם על מה שנמצא כתוב שר' מאיר שליח צבור ז"ל היה אומרו • ותעות הוא בידם כי חלילה שעלה על לבו של אותו צדיק מעולם לאומרו כי בקי היה בסודות ובמדרשים ובטעמים שהרי בצור ישראל י"ד תיבות וששים אותיות כנגד ששים רבוא שנגאלו ממצרים בי"ד ניסן • וכן תמצא י"ד אזכרות ביוושע • וכן י"ד אזכרות באנכי לומר שלא נגאלו ישראל אלא בזכות שאמרו שירה בי"ב אזכרות ויקבלו את התורה בעשרת הדברות שיש בה י"ד אזכרות • וכל תרי"ג מצות כלולים בעשרת הדברות • ורבי סעדיה גאון פרשם באזהרות שלו שיסד לכל דבור ודבור מצורת התלויות בו :

רפאינו יי ונרפא שימו על לב אנשי צרפת ואיי הים ששקר בימינכם ובשמאלכם שאתם בורים מלבבכם כמה וכמה תיבות בתפלתכם אשר לא עלתה על לבם של חסידים הראשונים שתיקנו לנו תפילה במקום קרבנות • וכל ברכה ותפלה שתיקנו הכל היא במשקל ובמדה באותיות ובתיבות שאם לה כן אז היה חס ושלום לתקן תפילתינו כעין זמר של הגוים הערלים • על כן שימו לבבכם ואל תוסיפו לעשות עוד לדבר הרע הזה להוסיף ולגרוע תיבות ואותיות בתפילתכם • כי שמעתי אומ' שאתם מוסיפים תיבות הרבה בברכה זו • יש מכם אומ' רפאנו יי וארפא • ועוד יש מכם שאו' והעלה רפואה שלמה לכל מכותי' ולכל תחלואיה גם נצנצה רוח עושים לפי שמצאתם בפסוק הסולח לכל עונינו הרופא לכל תחלואינו • כי זה הבל ורעות רוח שהרי כתב רבינו החסיד ז"ל שאין בברכת רפאינו כי אם ק"ז תיבות וק"י אותיות • כ"ז תיבות כנגד כ"ז תיבות בפסוק ויאמר אם שמוע תשמע עד כי אני יי רפא' • וכנגד כ"ז אותיות שבאלפא ביתא עם הכפולים לומר לך אם כן שתשמור תורה (See *JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW*, IV., p. 23, note 1.) שניתנה בכ"ז אותיות או אני רופאך :

ועל דברי— For Tahnun, § חוסה, it is said in the Paris MS. :— צרפתים שמוסיפים חרז אחד ניתן כעפר פינו לא טוב אשר המה עושים

: תפלה של— (JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, Vol. IV., p 28).

In Shemoneh Esre of Rosh hash-Shanah we find the same complaint against those who add words. It is said:—
 ר"ה כתובה על הסדר ועליה אין להוסיף ואין לגרוע אפילו תיבה אחת
 כי הועתקה מפירושי כתב יד של רבינו יהודה החסיד בן רבינו שמואל
 חסיד קדוש ונביא בן רבינו קלונימוס הזקן בן רבינו יצחק בן רבינו
 אלעזר הגדול והמוסיף והגורע בה אפילו אות אחת תפילתו אינו נשמעת
 כי כולה במידה ובמשקל.....ולא ישמע אל צרפתים ואנשי איי הים
 שמוסיפים כמה וכמה תיבות.....וכתב רבי החסיד ז"ל המוסיף בתפילה
 אפי' אות אחת עליו ועל כיוצא בו נאמר נתנה עלי קולה על כן שנאתיה.
 גם בכאן שגו אנשי צרפת הרבה מאד שמוסיפים ומרבים ואי' כאן
 זכרינו לחיים טובים. ויש מהם שאומרי' מלך חפץ בחיים. ויש מהם
 שאומרי' וכתבינו בספר חיים טובים ואילו טעו.....ועוד אנשי צרפת
 מוסיפים תיבות הרבה באבינו מלכנו וגם חרוזות שלימות ועל חנם
 מעמיקים.....ורבים מעמי הארץ אנשי צרפת ואשכנזיים נוהגים לומר אל
 אל לא יושיע לפי שהפסוק הוא בישעיה. ויש שנחנו לומר לאל לא
 יושיע. וכל זה הבל הוא :

Abraham Ibn Yarhi, the keen observer of Ritual rules, who certainly visited Normandy, if not England (beginning of the thirteenth century), could not have failed to notice the above-mentioned *Viduy* in the Norman-English Ritual, if this piece had really existed at that period. This *Viduy* was probably introduced in Normandy, following the rites of Spain (which has one before the prayers), of Rome (at the morning blessings), and of Avignon (after the eighteen blessings).

For completeness sake I may be allowed to correct some typographical mistakes in Prof. Kaufmann's description. JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, V., p. 365, line 10, I read in the MS. שבת, 1. 13; ופרטו שמות ימים, 1. 11; ופרש' וישבו המים מעל הארץ לה' יעק ביק שי', 1. 17; לארך ימים טובים at end to be added, ופרטו. Page 366, l. 4, מניש ביקא; l. 5 from below, מניצבורנ; To page 363: the quotation from the עין חיים, found in the glosses of Moses of Zurich, are not derived from Jacob's book. For the great satisfaction of Prof. Kaufmann, who likes to show that

¹ The Paris MS. has here (fol. 28) לועזים ואנשי איי הים.

The intrinsic value of the עץ חיים is the same as in the סֵמֶן, סֶמֶן, ס' ירוחם, and many others, as to authorities quoted and titles mentioned. The עץ חיים gives several ritual usages in England (ארץ האי), mostly in connection with France in general (כל צרפת or בצרפת). The name אינגלטירא (also corrupted (נורמנדיאה) occurs also in connection with Normandy (איינגלטיר). Our author quotes often Moses of London, less frequently Menahem of London, Joseph and Berekhyah of Lincoln, and ה'יירבֿ' מנורוהוטן, which means probably Northampton. These are the English authorities quoted; where are the Wise of Norwich? And where are the great Talmudical schools in England before the expulsion, which Jacob of London would certainly have mentioned, if they had existed? I shall finish with the name ארוך, the family name of our Jacob, which seems to be identical with the same name in Provence and Catalonia.

A. NEUBAUER.